/379 cont./

S 369 [262] Only food seems to have undergone only slight improvement: the couscous of millet or rice (a little fish or meat during periods of abundance) are basic in their diet. Bread, rarely eaten during the meal, is reserved for children; it takes the place of cake. Water remains the essential drink of the Moslem; water, palm wine (during the harvest), and grape wine (on feast days) are consumed by the non-Islamized None.

S [271] [273] SR [273]

The frugal housewife profits from the proximity of the escale for /380/ the daily sale in the market of the products of her personal garden. She cultivates tomatoes, beans, pumpkins, and okra. At Keur-Issa-Bambara she has tried, with greater or lesser success, to cultivate potatoes and salad greens; the gathering of mangoes also procures a little profit for her. When the harvest from the garden is exhausted, the collection of dead wood which she will take to sell in the market in the form of little bundles will yield a few coins for her.

S 369 241 438 [372]

In parallel fashion, the husband-cultivator harvests on a plot of his lougan products that are easy to sell on the Thiès market; at Keur-Issa-Bambara he lays out flooded rice-fields and cultivates the sweet potato and manioc, part of which is offered to the clientele of the escale.

S SR 369 438 [314] [342] [231]

During the dry season the None principally works at gathering palmyra leaves; they will be sold, as bundles of thatch, for making roofs for the huts of the urban quarters; after the harvest he carries dried groundnut leaves to the city for fodder for the little horses harnessed to the taxicabs.

S SR 369 234 438 S SR F [239] [465]

Despite the ready sale that can be made with cattle, they are not very numerous. When the epizootic diseases have spared them, they give an appreciable profit to their owner through the sale of milk. At Tiali, the only herd in the village, which contains about 30 animals, belongs to a single breeder. It is guarded by Peul shepherds who lead it to graze in the neighboring woodlands. The morning milk and the calves belong to the owner; the evening milk goes

/427 cont./ *511

Table XIV (cont.)

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Clothing	Equip-ment	Exceptional Expenses
30	Wolof	Weigher	24,000	22.5	1.0	--
31	Wolof	Carpenter	25,000	5.0	1.0	--
32	Wolof	Cultivator	25,000	2.6	13.3	--
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25,000	9.3	5.0	--
34	Wolof	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	16.0	8.7	0.6
35	Wolof	Managerial employee	27,000	9.2	3.7	2.6
36	Wolof	Private accountant	34,000	15.9	0.4	1.9
37	Wolof	Truck-gardener	36,000	9.2	1.3	3.4
38	Wolof	Jeweler	50,000	9.5	4.1	4.2
39	Sarakolé	Teacher	51,000	11.4	2.0	--
40	Wolof	Chief worker	55,000	12.1	2.2	--
41	Sarakolé	Head employee	55,500	9.0	5.2	--
42	Bambara	Chief worker	56,000	13.2	8.1	15.0
43	Wolof	Doctor	81,000	6.1	1.0	3.0

/428 cont./ *511 796 [435] [262] [424]

would have to be truly exceptional circumstances for this rule to be derogated. A sheep is worth 1,500 to 3,000 francs. And, of course, it is not interdicted to kill several of them. The mutton must be accompanied by various dishes, also as copious as possible.[1] All of this adds up to large outlays and often indebtedness for several months. The percentages in proportion to the monthly incomes are low, but it is in one month that all these expenses occur, and also many devoted to clothing. It is difficult not to go into debt.

[1] [for the Moslem holiday - Tabaski - ANALYST]

/428 cont./

*511 796 [262] [735] For Korité, although meals more copious than usual are often provided, nevertheless the essential thing is the alms in millet or money that one gives to the poor through the marabout.

For these two celebrations, the percentages stated are not noticeably higher at the top of the table than in the lower part. If, for the first incomes, the family heads are often obliged to do more than their means allow, each seems to adapt himself subsequently to his possibilities (1).

1. For No. 43, the information given concerns the celebrations for Christmas and the first of January.

*511 794 [875] The religious assessments are less numerous than the syndical assessments, but harder to bear. They exist in only three cases above No. 20, but represent 2% of the incomes, and 0.8%. They again noticeably increase in the lower part of the table. As for the gifts to the marabouts, they are perhaps more frequent than we have shown. Many families must have wanted to conceal them. Added to the payment for the teacher at the Koranic school (10 francs per week), these religious obligations end up by noticeably increasing the deficits that already existed at the start.

*511 871 Just as certain products are encountered in only a few families in the case of the routine expenses, we are also going to find here some of another order, but often more important.

There is first the cost of sending the children to school; 13 families send their children to school, public or private, and the outlays made for this can be evaluated as follows:

/429/ /Table XV appears here/ /430/

No. 8: 0.8%	No. 17: 1.8%
No. 10: 0.5%	No. 20: 0.5%
No. 15: 0.5%	No. 28: 0.4%

[Text continues on p. 72]

● 262

/For specific information on the proportion of various foods consumed in the city of Thiès based on a study of 43 families, see category 116, pp. 18-47, 50-53, and 57./

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

of inter-ethnic marriages in the towns is indicative of a major social change and a reflection of the effects of an assimilationist policy on the Senegalese.

Though many communities in Dakar are based on ethnic and family ties, particularly amongst the immigrant Toucouleurs from the Vallée du Fleuve, Dakar is on the whole a heterogeneous city. Mercier has observed that inter-ethnic habitation is particularly frequent among young bachelors, who often club together to hire a room. This is still relatively rare in Africa except amongst educated élites. But in Senegal many young men resent being asked the question whether they are Wolof or Serer, answering only to the name Senegalese. As far as friendship outside the ethnic group and in particular living with someone from another tribe is concerned, one great advantage is the existence of a common cuisine for Wolof, Serer, Toucouleur and Lebou. There is even a national dish known as *riz sénégalais*, known further down the coast as Jollof rice. This means that not only can friends share the same plate, but a man is not frustrated in his desire to marry outside his ethnic group by fear of a foreign cuisine.

Another important factor in the breakdown of tribal barriers has been the urbanisation of Senegal. Over 25 per cent of the population live in towns, the bulk in Dakar, Rufisque and St. Louis and Kaolack. This represents a higher rate of urbanisation than in any other West African territory except the Western Region of Nigeria, where, it must be pointed out, urbanisation was intense long before the arrival of the Europeans and therefore does not owe its origin to colonisation as it does in Senegal. It is difficult in the present stage of research to measure the results of the inter-mixing of races in urban agglomerations. But in an environment whose *raison d'être* is completely different from that of the tribal village, the individual is subjected to so many pressures that his ethnic individuality has to be extremely strong for him not to assimilate both ideas and customs from his neighbours and above all from the

7:Crowder J-5 (1955-1958) 1959
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS 30

for no-one would undertake his work unless he belonged to that caste. But the laws of supply and demand do not respect hereditary caste-rights. Mass-production and cheaper shoes dictate the old leather-worker's redundance. Soon he will fade into the obscurity of a rural industry, a supplier of goods for the local arts and crafts store.

This was nowhere more evident than in Dakar which has a large number of factories. Here one can see the new Africa rising up. The young negro comes from the bush, illiterate and half naked, living much as his ancestors before him. Soon he is caught up in the revolution. At first his house may be a small wooden shed, shared with members of his family or tribe on whom he is sponging. But soon he may earn thirteen pounds a month as an unskilled labourer, so that he can afford to take rooms with one of his richer brothers, whose weekly pay packet as a cook is six pounds. And so in Dakar people of all tribes meet in the great metropolis, live next to each other in the crowded Medina, and help to create a new town-life as different from that of the bush as city life in nineteenth-century industrial England was from that of the countryside.

In Dakar I met Diop, a young Jollof, well-educated, but out of work. I asked him how he lived and he told me that he just went from relation to relation each day borrowing money. He had had a job before, but after a quarrel with his employer, an African lawyer, he had had to leave. Each morning he left his wife, pretending to go to work. He deceived her into thinking he still had his job, by bringing home money lent him by relations. He 'borrowed' the equivalent of ten shillings from me, and to my astonishment promptly asked me to lunch the next day. His house, or rather room, was made of wood. Inside, the walls and the floor were covered with a gaily patterned lino. A large double bed and a small divan provided seats. A chest of drawers hung with all the crockery was the only other piece of furniture. On the walls was a large array of photos of friends and relations, all slightly over-exposed to give the effect of a lighter skin. Diop's wife, a ravishing, beautiful girl of nineteen, had spent all morning preparing Jollof rice for us, consisting of rice done in a sort of tomato purée, to which a delicious white fish with a variety of vegetables and a hot pepper sauce were added. A bottle of wine was produced for

/37/

During the dry season the ground appears bare, but with the first rains it is covered with a lusty vegetation, and it is principally the Gramineae that thus again adorns with verdure this land previously so desolate. S 137

I. -- Gramineae: Food Crops

The petit mil /small millet/, mil chandelle or penicillaire /candle or penicillate millet/ (Pennisetum), is native to Africa. It is also cultivated in India; undoubtediy it was at the time of the slave trade that it was introduced into America. This is the early small millet, or souna of the Wolof. The souna must be sown at the time of the first rains. It shoots up promptly; it grows well in the light, sandy soils (groundnut soils). After the 15th of August it begins to ripen, and one can already eat the unripe ears roasted. When it begins to push out of the ground, the Senegalese, and especially the Sérère /Serer/, sow beans between the rows; this is the volet (Phaseolus vulgaris), which will be eaten as green beans from the 15th of August on. The souna root is regarded by the Africans as a poison and, according to them, might be one of the causes of sleeping sickness. S 243 W [243] S [252] S [244] S [753]

Another variety of small millet is the sanio of the Wolof, late millet or bearded millet (Penicillaria spicata). This is a late variety of small millet with the ears covered with very strong beards, which, entering the eyes of birds, prevents them from eating it. It is said that it gives sottiete (eye ailments). The sanio grows in heavy soils. It is sown during the rainy season and harvested at the end of it, at the same time as groundnuts. W [243] S [753]

The gros mil /great millet/, or basi of the Wolof, requires a heavy and clayey soil. It ripens much later than the souna and can be cultivated in the middle of the rainy season. Sometimes it can even be planted again toward the end of the winter season when one sees that the first sowings have failed. The great millet, or basi, is sorghum (Sorghum sudanense). W [243]

Millet reduced to flour and granulated is called "couscous." S 262

/37 cont./

This is the most common preparation, but the native cuisine is acquainted with a host of others. The couscous is light, refreshing, and very nourishing. S 262

Millet is also given to horses. Basi is used the most in this practice, but souna gives them more vigor, although heating them up more. S 231

The Africans, by making millet germinate and putting it in water to boil for several days, obtain a kind of invigorating beer (pouh in Wolof), but one which, if taken in great quantities, produces a very heavy drunkenness. Millet, just like maize, fattens animals quickly, especially poultry. S W 273 S 231

Sorghum is a plant widely cultivated in Senegal. It is necessary to accustom the Senegalese farmer as rapidly as possible to replacing the ordinary variety by that of the sweet sorghum, that is, the saccharatum variety, which would have the advantage of giving sugar and grain. This saccharatum variety is utilized a great deal in the United States for the production of sugar. Then a sugar refinery would be created, which would be one more source of wealth for this country, wealth all the more appreciable because the African is fond of delicacies and a great consumer of sugar (mint tea, Moorish coffee, and infusions). S 243 S [433] [263] [272]

Rice. It is cultivated in Senegal in damp places, on the edges of marigots /watercourses/, in Sine, in Casamance, and at the mouth of the river (Richard-Toll, etc.). A large number of varieties is known, some of which grow in relatively dry and high places; black rice is one of them.

The African rice is Oryza glaberrima, but wild rice grows by itself; this is Oryza latifolia (punctata and sylvestris). The native rice is much more in demand by the Africans and often even by the Europeans than foreign rice. African cooks excel in preparing rice in all kinds of ways. S [137] S 262

Rice is emollient, soothing, very nourishing, and not at all binding or constipating as is sometimes thought. It also gives a beer by fermentation. Rice water renders great service in dysentery, as a beverage, and for bathing. Rice water is also a cooling drink for feverish and inflammatory ailments. Finally, rice powder is useful as an absorbent for skin diseases. S 273 757 [272] [515]

/38/

Maize (Zea mays L.): Succeeds well when sown at the beginning of the winter season. The native species sown under these conditions is very beautiful and gives large yellow ears, very well filled out. The Africans eat fresh roasted corn, and, when it is hard, they make couscous of it. The infusion prepared with the fruit is emollient and diuretic. The styles or stigmas of maize are famous as diuretics and cure several ailments of the urinary tract (cystitis, gravel, dysuria, etc.); the young kernels, when cooked, constitute an excellent vegetable and replace peas; the flour gives a beer and an alcoholic extract. The husks of the ears serve to make quite springy mattresses.

243 262 757 [273] [513]

II. -- Useful Gramineae

(not being subject to any cultivation)

824

Bamboo. -- Grows in the wild state in the Ravin des Voleurs /Ravine of Thieves/ near Thiès. The native species is rather small. Stakes, frames, masts of dugouts, huts, and fences, but especially clinting (constructions of bamboo filled in with lime) are made of it. The young shoots are said to be edible, and the sweet sap is supposed to be an agreeable drink. In Casamance a small species of bamboo grows in shady places; pipestems are made of it.

[313] [342] [262] [272] [276]

Begnefala (Andropogon shirensis). -- A tall gramineous plant with a penetrating aromatic odor. It is used in African medicine and the old colonials used it with success at the time of the great epidemic of yellow fever at Dakar in 1927. For fevers, one pounds the floral heads mixed with lemon or vinegar and energetically rubs the body with this mixture.

[757]

Hada (Imperata cylindrica). -- A gramineous plant with a very hard leaf and whitish ear, which is used for covering the roofs of huts.

[342]

Hat (Andropogon gayanus). -- Tall grass whose stem is used in making fences around huts.

[351]

Haham or cram-cram (Cenchrus biflorus). -- Its seeds fasten themselves to clothing and are very disagreeable. Is gathered and

[262]

/38 cont./

eaten as couscous in the south of the Sahara.

824 [262] [231]

Some Gramineae give very fine hay, but one must hurry to harvest them before the dryness is well established, for then the Gramineae quickly lose their leaves and become not very nourishing. Besides, these hays are worth far less than those of Europe, even comparing plants of the same species with each other. Finally, the best local hay is still groundnut straw.

J. B. Faur.
(Dakar.)

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS37

SEDHIOU (12° 42′; 15° 31′ W.). Population, 1,653. Provincial headquarters. Medical post. Emergency landing-ground. Regional School.

Sedhiou is on the right bank of the Casamance, 68 miles above Ziguinchor and 110 miles from the sea, and it is only usable by vessels drawing up to 5 feet. Formerly more prosperous than it is to-day, it has some brick buildings and shops. Many of the traders are Syrians, and there is a modest export of ground-nuts, hides, rice, and wax.

By colonial road Sedhiou is 58 miles from Bignona, 74 miles from Ziguinchor, and 62 miles from Kolda.

11. MINERALS

THE principal mineral exported from the colony is ilmenite, which is washed from beach sands between Rufisque and Cape Rouge, between Joal and Diakhanor, and at the mouth of the Casamance. Zircon (Vol. I, pp. 295–6) is obtained from the same sands, the ilmenite:zircon ratio being about 3:1. Other minerals of potential value are phosphates and limestone, both of which occur in Lower Eocene strata. Lenticular beds of phosphate, ranging from 30 to 65 per cent. bone phosphate of lime, are found near Matam and near Thiès. Limestones and marls are more widespread than in any other colony, and at Rufisque they have been worked experimentally for the commercial production of cement. Bitumen has been encountered at Dakar in borings for water, but investigations have shown that the geological structure is unsuited to the accumulation of petroleum.

12. AGRICULTURE

THE Gambia divides the millet from the manioc zone, but ground-nuts are the chief crop of both. Sisal-growing is an important, though more recent, industry. South of the Gambia the Casamance Territory provides a rich area for fruit and subsistence crops as well as for ground-nuts.

There is far more production for export than in any other colony.

Food Crops

Millets. Millets form the staple diet of the majority of the native population and are grown all over that part of the colony north of the

22:Winterbotham et al. K-4 (no date) 1944 MS37 Senegal MS 37

Gambia, often in rotation with ground-nuts. Of the quick-maturing varieties *souna* and *sanio* are the most popular, the former thriving in sandy soil, the latter in heavier ground. Several kinds of sorghum are also cultivated. In the river area millet is sown where the floods have subsided and is harvested in April. In other parts it is planted immediately before the rainy season. Production probably averages about 300,000 tons annually. The export of millet from one province to another is controlled according to local needs.

Rice. The area flooded by the Casamance is naturally suited for rice cultivation. The rice-fields are handed down from father to son, each family growing sufficient for its own consumption and to pay its taxes. A store of rice is always kept to guard against a lean year or to be exchanged for some other commodity required.

Sugar-cane. This is grown near every village where there is enough water. No attempt has been made to commercialize the crop, and the West African varieties are more woody and contain less juice than those grown elsewhere for export. Sugar-cane (*Saccharum officinarum*) is a perennial plant of the grass family. It is easy to grow, even near the sea, but takes at least a year to mature. When grown for local use, as it is here, sugar is not extracted, but the red or white stems are chewed.

The Baobab. The baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) is found generally in the thornland (Plate III), and is, therefore, much in evidence in Senegal. It is remarkable for the large girth of its trunk in comparison to its branches and leaves. The long green fruit, known as monkey-bread, is used as a food or as a seasoner. Boiled with water and then cooled, it also makes a refreshing drink, while the leaves and the young shoots are also good to eat. The inner bark yields a tough fibre, which can be twisted into rope or woven into a waterproof cloth. About 30 years ago a factory was opened at Dakar to prepare the fibre for export to rope- and paper-making firms in France. The bark and fibre can be stripped off without causing the death of the tree.

Manioc, beans, and maize are grown generally in the vicinity of villages. In the Cape Verde peninsula these, as well as yams, sweet potatoes, and melons, are grown for the Dakar markets.

Economic Crops

Ground-nuts. Ground-nuts (*Arachis hypogaea*) require a tropical climate and an annual rainfall of from 14 to 60 inches. They are the